

## QUESTIONS OF EGYPTIAN HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY AND AFRO-ASIATIC<sup>\*)</sup>

Gábor TAKÁCS  
Department of Egyptology  
Eötvös Loránd University  
Budapest, Hungary

### Abstract

*The new monograph on Egyptian historical grammar by J. P. Allen appeared merely some two decades after A. Loprieno's (1995) book with similar scope and aims. In this **review article**,<sup>1</sup> the reviewer **is** investigating whether the author has managed to yield a new synthesis in the swampy domain of historical phonology, by determining to what extent his material reflects and matches our knowledge on the subject hitherto accumulated on the one hand and how convincing the new solutions are on the other hand.*

Another new attempt at summing up our knowledge on the Egyptian language from a diachronic standpoint is now presented by J. P. Allen, the celebrated and multi-talented Egyptologist. He set up the daring task of covering all major aspects of Egyptian grammar, i.e. phonology, morphology and syntax. The latter two areas being beyond my primary interests,<sup>2</sup> this review focuses on the first domain, where this book is, of course, not at all "*the first of its kind*" as one can read in the promotion text on the covering page. On the contrary, the basic question pursued throughout my review has been how this new work corresponds to the expectations in the light of many preceding syntheses on Egyptian historical phonology.

The technical chapter „Conventions” (pp. xi-xiv) gives lists of phonological symbols and abbreviations of technical terms. The first list – in spite of the author's statement (p. xi) that „*this book follows the conventions standard in linguistic discussions of phonology*” – contains some surprising definitions: ʕ is listed as a „uvular glide (or stop), like Arabic ʕ”, which proves that the author is unfamiliar with the fundamental literature of Semitics, where ʕ (ʕ, ʕ) is defined as a „voiced pharyngeal fricative”<sup>3</sup> or an „epiglottal (pharyngeal) central approximant”<sup>4</sup>, i.e. one entire articulation place further. When he writes of the phone behind Eg. ḏ as a „palatalized unaspirated (or voiced) apical stop”, I am disturbed by the lack of any hint of its treatment as an „affriquée palatale faible et sourde” (Vycichl 1990, 45) or a „voiced palatal affricate” (EDE I 273). Another error is Allen's label for ḏ (marked in Semitic studies traditionally as ḏ) as a „voiced dental fricative”, although in fact it is an interdental, as is well-known in Semitic studies.<sup>5</sup>

Chapter 1, entitled „Ancient Egyptian” (pp. 1-8), is intended to lay out some general facts and principles of diachronic analysis. Allen's short introduction on the extraordinary continuity of Egyptian ends with note 2 (p. 201), where the author lists as „*major diachronic studies*” on the development of Egyptian only B. H. Stricker's 1945 monograph in Dutch, F. Junge's entry on „Sprache” in LÄ V 1176-1211, A. Loprieno's 1995 book on Egyptian, J.-M. Kruchten's paper on Middle vs. Late Egyptian (1999), and J. Winand's 2006 book on time and aspect in Egyptian. Bizarrely, the author failed to mention here J. Vergote's (1973, 1983) multi-volume work with its diachronic studies in all aspects of Egyptian grammar, and also the fundamental historical phonologies by J. Vergote (1945), P. Lacau (1970), W. Vycichl (1990) and C. Peust (1999). Why did he not study them? How can one think at all to attempt at achieving a new synthesis without re-discussing the materials of these works? A first and foremost question I kept asking, while I was reading Allen's chapters on phonology.

In subsection 1.1, very superficially and in an old-fashioned way, Allen examines the „affinities” of Egyptian, which the author acknowledges as belonging to the „Hamito-Semitic” family of languages, which, as he mentions (p. 201, n. 3), has been „*also called, less accurately, Afro-Asiatic*”. Why „*less accurately*”? He is not arguing but simply stating that „*Arabic is both an African and Asian Semitic language*”. Apparently, he is unfamiliar with the reasons why this new label „Afro-Asiatic” was introduced in the 1950s to replace the older term „Semitic-Hamitic”. For an overview of the family, to my great surprise, the author relies solely on Petráček's 1988 Introduction (Úvod) in Czech completely ignoring the epoch-making fundamental comparative works on Afro-Asiatic as a whole by I. M. Diakonoff (1965, 1988) and by J. H. Greenberg (1955, 1963). From these he could have learnt some basic results of our domain and so easily have avoided the following terrible sentence on Egyptian, another surprising statement illustrating to what extent this author is **neglecting** the facts

<sup>\*)</sup> Review article of: ALLEN, J. P. – The Ancient Egyptian Language. An Historical Study. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013. (22,7 cm, XIV, 254). ISBN 978-1-107-66467-8 Paperback, ISBN 978-1-107-03246-0 Hardback. \$ 32,99-.

<sup>1</sup> My sincere thanks go to Prof. W. G. E. Watson (Morpeh, UK) for correcting the English of this text.

<sup>2</sup> These aspects of J. P. Allen's book were reviewed by W. Schenkel in *Lingua Aegyptia* 21 (2013), 321-328.

<sup>3</sup> So E. Lipiński (1997, 107) and also L. Kogan (2009, 28; 2011, 54).

<sup>4</sup> As formulated by A. Dolgopolsky (1999, 28).

<sup>5</sup> Cf., e.g. Lipiński 1997, 117-122, §4; Kogan 2009, 26; 2011, 54.

of Afro-Asiatic linguistics: „It has affinities with Hamitic languages such as Beja, Berber, and Oromo, and with all the Semitic languages ...”, which makes in the reader a misleading impression as if the macrofamily had to be divided into Semitic and „Hamitic”, and as if not all of the latter languages were related to Egyptian. Since Greenberg we know that there was no Hamitic unit at all, the African branches of the macrofamily being separate, equipotential, and solely ultimately related entities (Berber, Cushito-Omoti, Chadic). To be frank, an overview of the history of Egyptian in 2013 can hardly stand the test of time with such an inadequate preparatory research.

Allen's totally out-dated label „Non-Hamitic features” (p. 1) sounds equally awkward. Among these, he lists „preponderance of triconsonantal roots” in Egyptian (almost 2/3 of the PT verbal roots were triradical), which is again an old „prejudice” about the root inventory of the African branches of our macrofamily. Suffice it to mention the triradicalisms of the reconstructed Proto-Chadic root stock (Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981; Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994 I) or of any Berber lexicon, which the author should have consulted at first before a hasty „conclusion”. Then, Allen goes on with „some lexical cognates” shared only by Egyptian and Semitic as a further „Non-Hamitic feature”, but the only instance he quotes in fact is Eg. sp.t vs. Sem. \*šap-at- „lip”, which is, however, a great blunder as this root is also attested in South Cushitic,<sup>6</sup> as I pointed out some time ago (Takács 1999, 401-402; 2000, 85, #15.1). Among „Hamitic features” we find the „vocalization pattern of some verbal derivatives” (p. 1), for which the author (in fn. 5, p. 201) provides no example, i.e. which patterns are in fact common to Egypto-Semitic, but not to the other branches – except for a general hint on the vocalization patterns summarized in NBA and Schenkel 1983, which were, by the way, elaborated by G. Fecht (1960), a fact the author is silent about. We learn here equally nothing about the other conceptions of Egyptian vowel reconstruction by W. Vycichl (DELC) and C. Peust (1999) – one wonders why. Among „non-Semitic features” Allen referred to „a dearth of lexical verb stems other than the root and causative” (sic), for which he – incomprehensibly to me – quoted (n. 6 on p. 201) the Egyptian Iae n- roots reflecting medio-passive Semitic n-stems and a supposed Egyptian factitive stem (pi<sup>c</sup>ēl of Hebrew) corresponding to the Akkadian D and Arabic stem II (unfortunately, he failed to mention that the idea comes from W. Vycichl 1957 on the basis of the Coptic evidence). But how these Egypto-Semitic isoglosses represent a „non-Semitic feature”, is a puzzle. On top that, Allen *ex cathedra* labelled the existence of the Egyptian pi<sup>c</sup>ēl as „questionable” (here again, no arguments were used). Moreover, it is here that the author seems to have difficulties regarding the use of the notions „root” vs. „stem”: when speculating on whether behind the meanings „to perish” vs. „to destroy” of Eg. ḥtm we have in fact \*ḥt<sup>c</sup>m vs. \*ḥt<sup>c</sup>t<sup>c</sup>m, respectively, or not, he surprises us by writing: „But it is also possible that Egyptian used a single root (sic) for both meanings”. The Afro-Asiatic consonantal root always carries lexical information only (e.g. Akkadian ṣprs „to cut”), and can thus by no means have any association with such a grammatical category as factitivity, causative etc., which was signified by the vocalized verbal stems (e.g. Akkadian purrus)! Awkward blunders in a small note – they are sadly revealing. After all this alarmingly poor presentation, the author mentions three Proto-Semitic words (\*yad- „hand”, \*ʿayn- „eye”, \*ʕudn- „ear”) reflected by the phonetic values of the Egyptian hieroglyphs (d, ʿn, jdn, respectively), from which he hastily concludes (p. 2) „that Egyptian may be closer in origin to Proto-Semitic than to the Hamitic branch (sic) of Hamito-Semitic”. Where are the thorough analyses of the grammatical and lexical isoglosses shared by Egyptian and the other branches? The author is evidently unfamiliar with the lexicostatistic research by A. Ju. Militarev and V. Blažek.

Then follows a brief „Historical overview” (§1.2) of the phases of Egyptian language history (pp. 2-4). Here too, hardly anything new or original emerges. On the contrary, the author is silently skipping to discuss the most fundamental change, namely the transition between Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian – when did the first signs of the latter appear well before the Amarna times? We learn nothing, e.g. about the evidence for the LEg. b- negation in the Coffin Texts (cf. Clère 1956) or the infiltration of Late Egyptian phrases in Kamose's texts or the tales of pWestcar.

In §1.4 (pp. 5-8), Allen lays out some facts of diachronic analysis in the domains of the Egyptian lexical stock and grammar with emphasis on the latter. Among Late Egyptian lexical neologisms, he mentions „Semitic (sic) tappūha (sic)” (p. 5) – two awkward elementary blunders at a time in a Cambridge University Press publication. First, the Hebrew word (he was evidently referring to) is in fact tappū<sup>a</sup>h „apple” [KB] with a *pattah furtivum*, which he failed to read correctly from the Hebrew script. Secondly, the word is not reconstructed for Proto-Semitic at all (Kogan 2011, 204, #4.4.3) as it is not common Semitic.

The next chapter (§2, pp. 11-22) is on Coptic phonology and it surveys the alphabet, syllable structure and stress, vowels and consonants. Discussing syllabic consonants (p. 13), the author uses a misleading dot beneath the consonant as a diacritic sign, e.g. (A) Κλ [kl] „doorbolt” or (ALMS) БРРЕ [bṛre] „new”, although this has been commonly applied to denote the emphatic (glottal) consonants, whereas the correct diacritic for the

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Proto-Rift \*šVfi „lip” [Ehret 1980, 212].

sonants, adopted from Indo-European, is a subscript circle,<sup>7</sup> thus [k<sub>ᵢ</sub>] and [b<sub>ᵢ</sub>re], respectively. Similarly disturbing is Allen's misleading adherence to some long out-dated and ambiguous transliteration signs retained in Egyptian merely by tradition, which now he re-uses even for Coptic consonants, e.g. ḏ and ṭ, standing in Egyptian for a voiceless (aspirated) and voiced (unaspirated) palatal affricates (Allen: palatalized apicals) e.g. in the synopsis of the "Common Coptic" system of consonantal phonemes (p. 20), although in Semitics it is voiceless interdental spirant (ḥ being a commonly accepted diacritic of spirantization and not of palatals), which the author now projects in the next row of the table even to Coptic palatalized velars signified in the work under review as ḏ and ṭ (!) implying for a professional Semitic or Indo-European linguist spirantized (begadkefat) velars and not palatalized ones (instead of k<sup>ᵢ</sup> and g<sup>ᵢ</sup> or ḵ and ḡ, resp.).

Speaking of the Coptic vowels (§2.3, pp. 13-17), the author presents a system (p. 15 and cf. p. 203, n. 24) based arbitrarily on Hintze 1980 and Peust 1999. Why all other approaches (by G. Fecht 1960, J. Vergote 1973, J. Osing in NBÄ, W. Vycichl in DELC etc.) were simply left out of the consideration and not even referred to in this context, we do not learn from Allen, who confessed of his model that „*such a description, of course, can only be theoretical, since the actual phonetic quality of the vowels is unknown*”. For me, to be frank, any system, whose elaboration is not accompanied by surveying the relevant literature and discussing the underlying arguments, is to be used with the greatest caution.

In the next chapter, „Coptic and Egyptian” (§3, pp. 23-30), the same basic problems may be addressed. Seeing Allen's Eg. \*ḥām-naṭur (p. 24), for instance, one might ask: where is the evidence for \*-u-, why did he not present it? So far, the Egyptian word for „god” has been vocalized as \*nātār partly in the light of the cuneiform evidence.<sup>8</sup> Where is Allen's reference to all this literature and where is the discussion of the alternative hypotheses as it is supposed to be, e.g. the one proposed by W. Vycichl,<sup>9</sup> who reconstructed the word as \*nātīr? Why did Allen consider an *ex cathedra* reconstruction as sufficient, without any references, arguments and critical discussion as sufficient? **If one is not aware of these facts, can one hope to carry out a well-founded research on this issue?** The author's (p. 33) reconstruction of LEg. ḥbr „partner” (borrowed from Semitic) as \*ḥābira (sic, long -ā- and short -i-, for which no arguments were adduced) is equally astonishing in the light of the Coptic reflexes, cf. (SLM) **ḠBHP**, (A) **ḌBHP**, which evidently indicate either \*ḥābīr or \*ḥābūr pace Hoch<sup>10</sup> with a short or reduced unaccented vowel in the first syllable.

Unfortunately, the case is no better regarding Allen's synopsis of Egypto-Coptic consonantal correspondences (pp. 26-27), which is already *prima vista* incomparably far below the level of, e.g. C. Peust's (1999) masterful treatment of Egyptian *Lautgeschichte*. First of all, what we miss here is its thorough elaboration including the conditional shifts in the context of their instances. The author presents Common Coptic \*b (sic) as a reflex of both Egyptian b and p – in the latter case „occasionally”. Firstly, as is well-known,<sup>11</sup> Coptic **B** had the value [v] or less probably [β]. Secondly, the label „occasionally” is misleading as if claiming that the shift took place *ad hoc* and not in the cluster -pt- or -pd- > **-BT-**<sup>12</sup> and only a few pages later does Allen (p. 28) briefly touch upon -pd- < **-BT-**. Similarly *nichtssagend* is Allen's label on Coptic **M** < Egyptian b as „occasionally”, e.g. (ALMS) **NIM** < nb „all”, since the change was evoked by the proximity of another nasal in the root.<sup>13</sup> The author mentions only *en passant* 2 pages later (p. 28) that Eg. b became p/m/w also Coptic – but where and why, remains unexplained. The same is the case with Allen's (p. 27) description of Coptic **P** < Egyptian n as happening „occasionally”, e.g. (BS) **ḠPMONT** < jwn-mnṭ.w „Armant”: this change was not *ad hoc* either, but here was due to the stimulating factor of the environment of n and also b.<sup>14</sup> This could be completed by other similar instances, which testify to a superficial treatment of consonantal history, which adds nothing new to our common knowledge. Instead, the author has accumulated *something* from some selected works intended to be a small and brief illustration of a research domain, whose state-of-the-art in its complexity does not appear here.

The following sketchy chapter „Correspondents and cognates” (§4, pp. 31-36) deals in fact with rendering of Semitic words (loans, names) in Egyptian (§4.1) and genetic parallels in Afro-Asiatic (§4.2), respectively. What we can find here can hardly to be regarded as analyses based on the profound knowledge of

<sup>7</sup> Cf., e.g. Brugmann 1897, 392-393, §429, 451, §497.

<sup>8</sup> See Farina 1924, 317-318; Edgerton 1947, 16-17; Edel 1954, 40; 1987, 128; Volten 1955, 75; Fecht 1960, 176, §363; Schenkel 1968, 536-539; 1983, 223, 227; 2002, 18, 25-26.

<sup>9</sup> See Vycichl 1958, 394; 1969, 26; 1990, 97, §3; 1990, 215; 1991, 119; DELC 145. His idea was followed by J. B. Callender (1984, 34, §13).

<sup>10</sup> See Hoch 1994, 241, #333.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Peust 1999, 136, §3.12.5.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Peust 1999, 134, §3.12.3 and fn. 135 with old literature.

<sup>13</sup> There are two instances apud Peust 1999, 167, §3.16.4.7.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Peust 1999, 165, §3.16.4.2.

the relevant linguistic evidence. Nevertheless, the scanty illustrative data were apparently sufficient for Allen to draw a number of hasty and sometimes too daring conclusions.

Discussing the „correspondents”, the author claims (p. 32) that there were „rare examples of  $f \approx /p/$ ”, act. (in his terminology) cases of rendering Semitic \*p with f in the Egyptian script, which “probably involve secondary spirantization, usually before \*i”. However, as usual, not a single instance is cited except that „a similar phenomenon is attested in Egyptian fst/pfst/pst \*fisit/pfisit/pisit > AS  $\pi$ ICE, B  $\phi$ ICI, F  $\pi$ ICI ‘cook.’”. I confess that I fail to understand how the latter case with only the reverse shift (old f- > younger p-), could somehow be relevant as its Anlaut had undergone no spirantization at all, but rather the contrary. The two certain instances of Sem. \*p borrowed as Eg. f adduced by J. Hoch (1994, 401 and #301 + #398) and referred to by Allen (ibid.) indicate either a Semitic source where \*p > f or a positional spirantization in Egyptian. In either case, this is absolutely to be kept distinct from OK fsj > MK pfsj > NK psj.

The hastily and carelessly composed subsection on Semito-Egyptian cognates (pp. 34-36) is full of awkward surprises and I am afraid I must say, unfortunately, that the level of this eclectic presentation hardly exceeds the output of the old works of Egypto-Semitic comparison from the 1930s (e.g., ESS or GÄSW). What the author has accomplished here, I can only conceive it as a *Muß-Arbeit* in a domain, where, thanks to J. H. Greenberg, I. M. D’jakonov and his outstanding Moscovite comparative dictionary team, and several further productive authors from recent decades, evidently much more can be known on the history of this segment of the Egyptian language.

For instance, to my great astonishment, Allen defines Proto-Semitic \*q (more correctly glottal \*ḳ) as a voiceless pharyngeal (!) stop (p. 34). In doing so, he even specially marked the place for the emphatic counterpart in the velar row as void in the chart composed by him “on the basis of most recent studies”. I wonder what kind of most recent studies he used, when the whole *Fachgebiet* of comparative Semitics knows it as a velar plosive (including those works he refers to on p. 206, n. 24: did he really read them?).<sup>15</sup> This kind of “method” is truly regrettable. Pronouncements *ex cathedra* ignoring the sources and the evidence are hardly the ways of achieving solid results.

The extremely short discussion of Egypto-Semitic consonantal correspondences based on some selected lexical parallels is an arena of serious controversies, which Allen was, of course, unable to resolve. Instead, he assumed an eclectic set of consonantal correspondences in the same manner as A. Loprieno did in his 1995 book.<sup>16</sup> This is a very poor elaboration of a magnificent field of research, which only uses some superficially selected examples SED I-II and EDE I and treats exceptions as equivalent to regular correspondences.

Thus, while admitting Eg.  $\varsigma$  = Sem. \* $\varsigma$  and \* $\gamma$  (p. 35), nothing prevented Allen from stating that “Egyptian  $\varsigma$  also seems to be related to Semitic \*l in” using the disputable parallel of Eg.  $\mathfrak{h}\varsigma\mathfrak{q}$  „to shave” vs. Sem. \* $\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{k}$  “shave, smooth”.<sup>17</sup> Is it sufficient to have only one parallel to admit a regular (!) correspondence? At the same time, he (p. 35) also adopts the Rösslerian view on Eg.  $\varsigma$  that “it was originally an apical stop” and as

<sup>15</sup> E. Lipiński (1997, 107): velar plosives \*k, \*g, \*q. P. R. Bennett (1998, 8, table 3), A. Dolgopolsky (1999, 28), and SED I lxvii, §2.1.1: velar stops \*g, \*k, \*ḳ. B. Kienast (2001, 26, Tabelle 3): velare Explosive \*g, \*k, \*q. L. E. Kogan (2009, 26; 2011, 54, table 6.1): “велярные смычные” vs. “velar/uvular stops” \*k, \*g, \*ḳ.

<sup>16</sup> Where, e.g., Loprieno (1995, 31, §3.3.a) was able to accept both dental and pharyngeal values for Eg.  $\varsigma$  at the same time in the very same root (!) when he equated Eg. 3 $\varsigma\varsigma$  „to speak a foreign language” (DLE) with Sem. \* $\sqrt{\text{lyz}}$  > Hebrew  $\sqrt{\text{l}}\varsigma\text{z}$  qal „unverständlich, barbarisch reden” [GB] and Ar.  $\sqrt{\text{lyz}}$  IV „envelopper le véritable sens d’une pensée dans des paroles obscures” [BK] instead of assuming a cognacy directly with the biconsonantal Sem. \* $\sqrt{\text{ly}}$  as correctly demonstrated by F. von Calice (1931, 36; GÄSW #1), J. Vergote (1945, 130, 133, §3.a.1), and C. T. Hodge (1981, 374, #34). Loprieno’s (1995, 32, §3.3.d) impossible AA \* $\sqrt{\text{sp}\gamma}$  (sic) „seven” (in fact, this AA root never had either \* $\mathfrak{p}$  or \* $\gamma$ ) based on the well-known correspondence of Eg.  $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{h}$  and Sem. \* $\sqrt{\text{sb}}\varsigma$  testifies to that he was unaware of the fact that  $\mathfrak{h}$  appeared in this Eg. root due to the incompatibility law of AA \* $\mathfrak{s}\varsigma$  > Eg.  $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{h}$  (cf. EDE I 326), which, in turn, then affected the shift of \*b- > -f via metathesis. The same incompatibility shift occurred in Eg.  $\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{h}$  „wide” akin to Sem. \* $\sqrt{\text{ws}}\varsigma$ , which Loprieno (1995, 35, §3.4.1) failed to realize and, instead, he assumed a baseless AA \* $\sqrt{\text{wsy}}$ , whose \*- $\gamma$  never existed lacking, in fact, any real evidence. Equally puzzling is Loprieno’s (1995, 32, §3.3.d) arbitrary reconstruction of AA \* $\mathfrak{x}$  (in fact, a nowhere attested glottalized velar fricative!) on the basis of two contradictory instances, namely Eg.  $\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{r}$  „on” vs. Sem. \* $\varsigma\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{l}$  and Eg.  $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{m}$  „sweet” vs. Sem. \* $\sqrt{\text{n}}\varsigma\mathfrak{m}$ . Neither of these roots had ever that exotic phoneme, for which he failed to quote one single occurrence.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Hebrew  $\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{q}$  “glatt, unbehaart sein” [GB] | Arabic ḥalaqa I “1. raser (la tête), 2. tondre (les chèvres)” [BK]. There are three further supposed instances, which Allen missed to mention, cf. Eg.  $\mathfrak{h}\varsigma$  “(eine Frau) schänden” (Wb) = “to violate (a woman)” (DLE) ||| Sem.: Hebrew  $\sqrt{\text{hl}}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{l}$  “sich entweihen, entweiht, entheiligt werden”, piel “entweihen, profanieren” [GB] = piel “to profane”, nifal “to be defiled” [KB] suggested by W. F. Albright (1918, 241, #82) and A. Ember (ESS §5.g.3); Eg.  $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{h}\varsigma\mathfrak{t} \sim \mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{h}\varsigma\mathfrak{t}$  “Hase” (Wb) ||| Sem.: Arabic  $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{l}$ -at- “petit/jeune lièvre qui ne suit plus sa mère” [BK] suggested by W. Vycichl (1958, 398; 1963, 150; 1990, 42), O. Rössler (1971, 313), and Ch. Reintges (1994, 218). A possible external origin (Indo-Iranian \*śasa- “hare”) has also been proposed by V. Blazek (1990, 42).



"evidence for these values" he quoted merely Eg. ʿ3 vs. Sem. \*ʾdl (sic) "door" and Eg. ʿff vs. Sem. \*ʾḏbb "fly", which I had discarded some time ago (EDE I 347 and 362, resp.).

The whole treatment of Eg. f (p. 35) is also unacceptably distorted. In the first line of its entry, the author simply states: "*The labial fricative f is related to Semitic \*b, e.g. sḥw ≈ \*šbʿ 'seven'; it is also cognate with Semitic \*š/h in the 3MSG suffix pronoun f*" – that is all (!) he has to say about Eg. f. To present Sem. \*š as a regular match of Eg. f is astonishing. Naturally, the shift of Eg. =f < \*su ~ Sem. \*-šu in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masc. sg. suffix, the only instance of its kind was unique and irregular in Egyptian. Both cases represent marginal, presumably conditioned irregular cases, whereas the regular match of Eg. f = Sem. \*p < AA \*f has been established and abundantly demonstrated,<sup>18</sup> although it is not even mentioned by Allen. He was also silent about the considerable significance of Eg. f as an Afro-Asiatic archaism shared with Chadic, which was first realised by J. H. Greenberg (1958). The author has equally ignored the demonstration of the validity of this observation for Egyptian f in South Cushitic an Angas-Sura, where \*f has been preserved distinct from \*p.<sup>19</sup> **All these results are strangely ignored in the new book.**

Another surprise is represented by Allen's all too daring statement (p. 35) that Eg. r "*is primarily cognate with Semitic \*l ... It is also related to Semitic \*d in srsu ≈ šdθ 'six' ...*", while he acknowledges only "*one possible cognate with Semitic \*r*" (namely Eg. rd "foot" vs. Sem. \*ʾrdy „to tread”). That is, in his opinion the regular matches of Eg. r would be Sem. \*l and \*d, which is far from current opinion. Firstly, Sem. \*d is no more than a sporadic irregular match of Eg. r, definitely attested merely in the word for „six”, while the remaining of its suggested instances cannot be accepted (cf. EDE I 292-294). Secondly, Sem. \*r is a regular match of Eg. r, just as \*l is, and, strangely, Allen overlooked almost all the Egyptian words whose Afro-Asiatic cognates have \*r-, i.e. Eg. rwj "fortgehen, verlassen" (Wb) = „to go/pass away, depart, leave” (FD),<sup>20</sup> rwj „to dance, clap hands” (FD) and rw.t "Tanz" (Wb),<sup>21</sup> rwd „Bogensehne (vom Bogen abgespannt)" (Wb),<sup>22</sup> rpʿ "Fürst" (Wb) = „hereditary noble” (FD),<sup>23</sup> ršw "sich freuen, froh sein" (Wb),<sup>24</sup> rd "wachsen" (Wb),<sup>25</sup> zr "Schafbock, Widder" (PT),<sup>26</sup> šrr "(to be) little, younger" (FD), hence šr „lad, younger son” (FD).<sup>27</sup>

Allen's (p. 35) statement that "*good cognates for Egyptian h are lacking.*"<sup>31</sup> implies that he probably *a priori* disregarded those listed in Rössler 1971, 308 and EDE I 143-148 (referred to in his n. 31 on p. 207). It is a pity that the author also overlooked a number of very recent etymologies<sup>28</sup> reaffirming that Egyptian h reflects Afro-Asiatic \*h, cf. Eg. jwh "beladen mit etwas" (Wb),<sup>29</sup> bht „Widersacher o.ä." (Wb) = "enemies (in texts for

<sup>18</sup> In 1999, I collected, e.g., 15 instances (see EDE I 114-119).

<sup>19</sup> See Takács 2011, 116-117 and 148-152, resp.

<sup>20</sup> Identical with SCu. \*roʔ- „to go away” [GT]: Ma'a -ro "to leave" [Ehret] | Dahalo roʔ- "to go/pass by" [Ehret] || ECu.: Yaaku -reʔe „to run away” [Heine] = reʔ- „to run away” [Tosco] < AA \*ʾrwʔ „to leave” [GT]. The comparison of Eg. rwj with Brb. \*ʾrwl "to flee" [GT] suggested by G. Möller (1921, 196; 1924, 42) and F. Hintze (1951, 84, #429) is not acceptable for semantical reasons. Besides, O. Rössler (1952, 131, #8) correctly identified Brb. \*ʾrwl with Arabic ʾhrwl: harwala "schnell gehen".

<sup>21</sup> Cognate with SCu. \*raʔ- "to sing, dance" [Ehret] || PCh. \*ʾry ~ \*ʾrw "to sing, dance" [GT] > i.a. WCh.: Hausa ráwáá "dancing, a dance" [Abraham] etc. (Chadic data: Mukarovsky 1987, 325; JI 1994 II, 100-101).

<sup>22</sup> Related to PCh. \*rig- ~ \*rag- "bow, bow-string" [GT] = \*rəga [Newman] = \*r-g [Jungrathmayr]. For the Egypto-Chadic etymology see Greenberg 1963, 53; Dolgopolskij 1964, 29; 1964, 262; Orel & Stolbova 1989, 134; 1992, 189.

<sup>23</sup> Akin to Arabic rafāʿa "erheben", rafīʿ- "angesehen, vornehm" [Reinisch] = rafīʿ- "2. élevé, haut, 3. placé sur une hauteur, 4. haut, élevé en rang, d'un rang élevé" [BK] as proposed by L. Reinisch (1890, 33, fn. 7).

<sup>24</sup> Identical with Akkadian ʾryš: riāšu "jauchzen", rištu "Jauchzen, Jubel" [AHW] as proposed by A. Ember (1912, 90; ESS §12.a.25), H. Holma (1919, 39), G. R. Castellino (1984, 16).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Arabic ʾrḍy I "8. se multiplier, s'accroître (se dit des troupeaux), 9. augmenter au delà d'un certain nombre" [BK] = "to increase, exceed, multiply, augment" [Leslau] || Soqotri ʾrḍy "to augment, increase" [Leslau] as pointed out by W. F. Albright (1918, 236; 1927, 223), M. Cohen (1947, #422), G. Conti (1978, 31-33), V. Blažek (1994, 432).

<sup>26</sup> Identical with NOm. \*du/or- "ram, sheep" [Blažek] || WCh. \*dVr- "бапан (wether)" [Stolbova] || CCh.: Fali-Kiria žūrā "ram" [Kraft] as suggested by V. Blažek (1991, 361); V. Orel & O. Stolbova (1992, 183; HSED #2634); G. Takács (1998, 159, #3).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Akk. šerru "(little) child" [AHW] || Ug. trr „little” [Gordon] and (?) šrr "little, small (?)” [WUS but DUL: „powerful”!] || Brb. \*i-šir "child" [GT] (Brb. data: Laoust 1931, 230; Bynon 1984, 274-275, #35) || presumably also Om. \*šEr- "thin" [Bender] (originally \*ʾsmall"?). For this AA etymology see Ember 1912, 90; ESS §12.a.40; Holma 1919, 45; Albright 1927, #64; Cohen 1947, #293; Gordon 1955, 339, #2080; Zavadovskij 1967, 22; Majzel' & Militarev 1983, 230; Bynon 1984, 274-275, #36.

<sup>28</sup> See Takács 2010, 153-156 and 2011, 144-145 for the South Cushitic evidence. In addition, I collected new instances from two Central Chadic groups (Musgu and Masa) in my lecture at the Biannual Meeting of Chadic Linguistics in Paris, Villejuif, September 2011 (cf. Takács 2013).

<sup>29</sup> Akin to SCu. \*loh- "to carry load" [GT]: WRift \*lōh- "to migrate, carry goods", \*lōh-is "to carry, move house" [Kießling & Mous] > Iraqw loh- "to move house", loh-is- "to carry load", Alagwa loh-is- "to carry load" | Qwadza loh-is- "to move house" (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 206) || WCh.: Suroid \*lē „load” [GT]: Sura lēe „Last” [Jungrathmayr], Mupun lēe „load” [Frajzyngier] < AA \*ʾl[w]h „to carry load” [GT].

the destruction of foes)" (PL),<sup>30</sup> h3 "rösten (in den Bez. für Brotsorten)" (Wb) = "Glut" (cf. ʿq n h3 "Röstbrot") (GHWb),<sup>31</sup> h3j.t "Halle, Vorhalle" (Wb) = "portal" (FD),<sup>32</sup> h3j "(den Gegner) annehmen" (Wb),<sup>33</sup> hwhw "davonlaufen (von den Füßen)" (Wb),<sup>34</sup> hbj "einen Ort betreten" (Wb) > hb.w "Zerstörung (?)" (Wb),<sup>35</sup> hn "aufhören mit (hr) etwas" (Wb) = "to halt, cease" (FD),<sup>36</sup> htth "zu jemandem eilen" (Wb),<sup>37</sup> hd „(die Kühe zum Futter) treiben" (Wb).<sup>38</sup>

Admitting the well-known match of Eg. ḥ = Sem. \*ḥ, Allen (p. 35) writes that "*like Egyptian ʿ, it also seems to be associated with Semitic \*l*", and for both cases he provided one instance for each case once again misleading readers inexperienced in Egyptian etymology by giving the illusion that these are equally regular correspondences. This far from the case: the first is regular, while the second one is only sporadically attested, namely in three Eg. roots of puzzling etymology: ḥʿb „(ein Spiel) spielen" (Wb),<sup>39</sup> ḥbs "bekleiden, verhüllen" (Wb),<sup>40</sup> smḥ.j „links (Adj.), die Linke (Subst.)" (Wb).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>30</sup> P. Wilson's *Volksetymologie* ("those who flee") may be left out of consideration. Cf. rather Arabic bahata I „assaillir à l'improviste et avoir le dessus sur qqn., 2. calomnier qqn., lui imputer à tort et sciemment qqch." [BK] ||| WCh.: Hausa ḥāāḥāātūū [partial redupl. < \*bah(t)baht-] „quarrelsome talking" [Abraham].

<sup>31</sup> Sem.: Arabic haraʿa I "4. cuire trop les viandes, au point qu'elles soient en charpie", hariʿa "être en charpie pour avoir été trop cuit (se dit des viandes)" [BK] || Tigrinya harhar bälä "être en flammes" [DRS] ||| ECu. \*hUr- "to kindle" [GT] > PSam \*huri „schüren (Feuer)" [Heine] = "to kindle" [Heine] | Dullay \*hōr- [GT] > Dobase hor-as- (caus.) „kochen", Gollango hōr- „wärmen" (Dullay: Ambornn, Minker, Sasse 1980, 162, 202) || SCu.: WRift \*hur-im (dur.) „to cook" [Kießling & Mous] ||| CCh.: Misme hār "faire griller (pois de terre)" [Kieschke] < AA \*ṽhr "to cook (?)" [GT]. Is there any connection with Sem.: Tigre ṽhwr "ripe" [DRS]?

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Arabic hurry- "grenier public, magasin aux grains" [BK] ||| CCh.: Musgu-Masa \*hEr- "(to) enclos(ur)e" [GT]: Musgu-Puss hiri (hara) "clôture, enclore" [Tourneux], Mulwi (Vulum) hiri "enclercer" [Tourneux], cf. also Musgu-Puss hiri (hara) "faire une pépinière" [Tourneux], Mulwi (Vulum) hiri "faire une pépinière" [Tourneux], Mbara hār "faire une pépinière" [Tourneux] | Misme hēr "clôture" [Kieschke] || WCh.: Pa'a hāra (m), pl. hār "compound, house, home" [M. Skinner] < AA \*ṽhry [GT].

<sup>33</sup> Akin to LECu.: Sam \*hel- "to get" [Heine, Sasse] || SCu.: Dahalo hēl- "to seize, (catch) hold (of)" [Ehret] ||| WCh.: Angas eel ~ el (hill) „to seize, snatch" [Foulkes] = ʿel „ergreifen, schnappen" [Jungrathmayr] || CCh.: Gisiga hal "nehmen (Hirse, Erdnüsse)" [Lukas] < AA \*ṽhl „to seize" [GT].

<sup>34</sup> Cf. SCu.: WRift \*hawʿ-ut (med.) „to go away" [Kießling & Mous] || LECu.: Saho haw-eṛḥe "to go away", haw-iše "to take away" [Vergari].

<sup>35</sup> Sem.: Tigrinya habayā "frapper à coups répétés, battre fort (pluie)", hobay bälä "frapper" [DRS] ||| Bedawye hāb "den Fußboden im Hause stampfen, ebnen" [Reinisch] ||| CCh.: PMusgu-Masa \*hāb/\*hāp "1. to tread upon, 2. crush" [GT]: Musgu habu-tā "schlagen" [Lukas], Muskum ḥābā "battre" [Tourneux] | Musey hāp "écraser" [Ajello], Lame hāb "1. crever, briser, 2. piétiner" [Sachnine], Zime-Dari hāb "1. piétiner, 2. briser, crever" [Cooper], Peve hāb "to break in pieces" [Kraft], Misme hābā vs. hāp "casser" [Kieschke] = hāp/hāp "broke/breaks (e.g. calabash)" [Jungrathmayr]. The Bedawye-Egyptian etymology was first suggested by E. Zyhlarz (1932-3, 169).

<sup>36</sup> Related to Sem.: Tigre han gāʿa "devenir désert", Tigrinya hana ~ hona "déserté, désolé (lieu), ruines", cf. Tigre hən gāʿa "rester muet, être stupéfait" (ES: DRS 427-8, 433) ||| CCh.: Musgu-Masa \*hin "1. to let, 2. remain" [GT]: Musgu-Girvidik han-, hən- "1. lassen, 2. übrig bleiben" [Meyer-Bahlburg], Mulwi (Vulum) hini "laisser, permettre" [Tourneux], Musgu-Puss hini (həna) "1. laisser, abandonner, 2. rester, 3. autoriser, permettre" [Tourneux] | Masa hin "laisser" [Caītucoli], Masa-Bongor hīn-nā "laisser, quitter" [Jungrathmayr], Gizey/Wina, Masa, Musey hin "1. rester, 2. laisser", Ham, Lew, Marba hin "laisser" [Ajello] | Kotoko hin "s'arrêter" [Mouchet] < AA \*ṽhn "to leave" [GT].

<sup>37</sup> Identical with Arabic hathata "être prompt, expéditif, rapide en parlant" [BK] || Tigre hawätwätä "se hâter en chemin" [DRS] ||| CCh.: Musgu \*ṽhwt or \*ṽhtw (?) "quick" [GT]: Musgu huitáán "schnell" [Lukas], Mogrum hiitāw "vite" [Tourneux].

<sup>38</sup> Related to Sem. \*ṽhdy „to conduct, direct, guide" [GT]: Syriac haddī and Mandaean hda „conduire, diriger" || Arabic hadā „conduire, diriger", Maghrebi Arabic hdā „pousser, orienter vers", Sudanese Arabic hadd „presser le chameau étalon de couvrir la femelle" (Sem.: DRS 373-374) ||| SCu.: Iraqw gera-har- [-r- reg. < \*d-] „to lead" (cf. gera „in front") [Ehret] ||| WCh.: Goemay hēt „to push, paddle, conduct" [Sirlinger] = heet „to put in motion" [Hellwig] || CCh.: Misme hūt "pousser" [Kieschke] < AA \*ṽhd "1. to push, 2. conduct" [GT]. A variant root with initial \*ḥ- is present in Arabic ḥadaʿa I „faire marcher, pousser devant soi les chameaux", VI „pousser l'un l'autre en marchant à la file", VIII „pousser, faire marcher devant soi" [BK].

<sup>39</sup> Its combination with Sem. \*ṽlʿb: Hebrew ṽlʿb hitpaēl „verspotten" [GB], Syriac lʿb „seine Lust haben an etwas" [GB], Arabic laʿaba „2. jouer, badiner, folâtrer, 3. jouer à un jeu de hasard" [BK], proposed in GB 388 and by J. H. Greenberg (1950, 42, fn. 6) is indeed impressive.

<sup>40</sup> It was combined by C. T. Hodge (1976, 14, #118, 22, fn. 118; 1981, 234; 1983, 38, #13; 1985, 17) with Sem. \*ṽlbš "to clothe". But here, both the Egyptian and Semitic *comparanda* have phonologically regular correspondences: (1) Sem. \*ṽlbš = Eg. jbs "Kopftuch" (Wb) as suggested by W: Vycichl (1958, 376; 1990, 55) and C. T. Hodge (1983, 38, #13); (2) Eg. ḥbs = Sem. \*ṽhbš: Hebrew ṽhbš "(um-, ver)binden (eine Wunde)", Aramaic ḥbš "fesseln" | Arabic ḥabasa I "to bind, capture, binden, gefangennehmen", II "bekleiden, verhüllen" as proposed by F. Hommel (1883, 440, fn. 30; 1894, 343, fn. 3), A.

Another careless assertion is that "Egyptian *ḥ* is also cognate with Semitic \**ḥ*" (p. 35), which was the first one made by Allen (with a hint regarding Eg. *sḥ* vs. Sem. \**ṣb* „seven”, where, however, the shift of Eg. *ḥ* < \**ḥ* was conditional). Only then he continued with what he regarded as its second Semitic match: "as well as with \**ḥ*", for which he quoted only Eg. *ḥtm* and Sem. \**ḥtm* "to seal" which I also carefully avoided mentioning among the genetically inherited cognates with Eg. *ḥ* = Sem. \**ḥ* in EDE I 157-171. There, by the way, I listed 14 Egypto-Semitic and altogether 55 Afro-Asiatic parallels for Eg. *ḥ* < \**ḥ*. All this is symptomatic and revealing. Allen considers Sem. \**ḥ* – in fact, the only regular correspondence of Eg. *ḥ* – as secondary and illustrates it, as a *Musterbeispiel*, with a probably old cultural *Wanderwort*, the least suitable for this purpose. On the other hand, he considers the irregular Eg. *ḥ* = Sem. \**ḥ* as regular and quotes only that case where the shift of Eg. *ḥ* < \**ḥ* was certainly due to combinatory circumstances he evidently failed to understand, having failed to consult EDE I 326-327. There, I examined the instances of Eg. *ḥ* resulting from a secondary combinatory shift in the proximity of incompatible dental consonants in the same root, both sibilants (s, z) and stops (t, d), namely Eg. *wsḥ* "(räumlich) weit (ausholend), geräumig, breit" (Wb) < \**wsḥ*;<sup>42</sup> Eg. *pḥ* "verwirrt sein" (Wb) = „to be distraught, be strewn" (FD) < \**pzḥ*;<sup>43</sup> LEg. *ṭḥ* "fett, gemästet (von Ochsen)" (Wb), probably OEg. \**dḥ* < \**dḥ*;<sup>44</sup> Eg. *ṭḥb* "ein-, betauchen, benetzen" (Wb) < \**tḥb*;<sup>45</sup> Eg. *ṭḥṭḥ* "verwirren, verworren sein" (Wb) = „to disorder (hair), crumple (papers)" (FD);<sup>46</sup> Eg. *dḥ* "sich verbergen" (Wb) < \**dḥ*.<sup>47</sup>

Erman (1892, 115), A. Ember (1912, 90, fn. 4; ESS §14.a.17), F. von Calice (GÄSW #257), J. Vergote (1945, 138, §12.a.10), M. Cohen (1947, #113), W. Vycichl (1958, 374; 1990, 50), A. B. Dolgopolskij (1967, 307), and C. T. Hodge (1981, 375).

<sup>41</sup> Usually (Erman 1892, 119; Holma 1911, x, Ember 1926, 312, #7; Farina 1926, 20; GÄSW 197-8, #809) combined with Sem. \**ṣaʿmal* „sinistro, mano sinistra" [Fronzaroli] = \**ṣVm(?)VI*- [Militarev], attested in Akkadian *šumēlu* "Linke: 1. linke Seite, 2. linke Hand" [AHW] || Ugaritic *šmāl* "die/das Linke" [WUS], Hebrew *šemoʿ(ʿ)l* "die linke Seite, 2. Norden, Nordseite" [GB] | Arabic *šamʿal* "linke Seite, Norden" [Erman] || Jibbali *šamli* (m), *šamlēt* (f) "left" [Johnstone], Mehri *šāyməl/šəməwəl* "left (hand)" [Johnstone], Soqotri *šimhīl* ~ *šémhel* ~ *šémel* "gauche" [Leslau] etc. This equation is, however, surrounded by puzzles. Except for the -m-, neither of the radicals in fact displays any of the regular correspondences. The connection (if any) of Eg. -mḥ- vs. Sem. \*-ʿml- has never been elucidated satisfactorily. In W. A. Ward's (1961, 38, #21) opinion, the Semitic word "doesn't appear in Eg. or Dem." at all (implying that Eg. *smḥj* is not cognate either), only on a Coptic ostrakon as *ϣⲙⲟⲩⲗ* "left/east (?)" (CD), which, being an evident a Semitic loan, is out of the consideration here. A. Ember (l.c. supra) assumed an implausible chain of *smḥj* (sic, -ḥ-) < \**šmḥj* < \*\**šm3j* without any comparative evidence. The only way to explain this anomalous match would be to assume an equally striking connection between Eg. *mḥ* and Sem. \**ml*? „to fill" (expressed e.g. in GM 114, 1990, 92). But the former is most probably cognate with Punic *ṣmḥy* "2. to (make) overflow", hence "to pay or weigh to the full weight" [DNWSI] || Bedawye *muh* "genügen" [Almkvist] = *mḥ* ~ *mehū* "genügen, hinlänglich, genug sein" [Reinisch] = *meh*- "to suffice, be enough" [Roper] || Dullay: Dobase *muh*- "beenden", *muh-e* (f) "Ende" [Amborn, Minker, Sasse] || NOm.: Yemsa *mūma* "full, levelled" [Wedekind] = *mūmā* "full" [Aklilu] || CCh.: *Lame mbúbúʿú* [mb- < \*m- reg.] "bien plain, rebondi, sans creux" [Sachnine] | ECh.: Kera *meʿi* (adv.) "genug" [Ebert] | Tobanga *máw* "plein, rempli, bourré à ras bord" [Caprile]. For this Egypto-Cushitic comparison see Zyhlarz 1932-33, 168; Behrens MS; Takács 1999, 40.

<sup>42</sup> Cognate with Sem. \**ṣwš* > Hebrew *yēšaʿ* "Befreiung", lit. "Weitmachung" [Vergote] = „Hilfe, Rettung" [GB] | Arabic *wasīʿa* I "1. être spacieux, vaste, ample", *wasuʿa* I "avoir les jambes distancées" [BK]. A generally accepted equation. For literature see EDE I 326.

<sup>43</sup> Related to Arabic *fazaʿa* I "être effrayé, saisi de frayeur à la vue de/par qqch." [BK].

<sup>44</sup> Akin to Sem. \**dḥdḥ* "to move with heavy steps, with difficulty" [GT]: Arabic *daʿdaʿa* "courir d'un pas lourd" || Amharic *da* (da) *ʿalā* "marcher lentement, avec difficulté, parler difficilement" (Sem.: DRS 289-290) || SCu. \**de*- "to be fat" [Ehret]: WRift \**duʿiya* "fat, oil", pl. \**duʿáy* "pieces of fat" [Kießling & Mous] > Iraqw *deʿ-eta* "fat, lard" [Ehret] = *dééʿéta* „fat", cf. *dīʿi* „oil" [Whiteley] = *dīʿi* „oil, fat" [Maghway], Burunge *dōʿīḥ* & *dōgiʿa* „Fett" [Meinhof] | Asa *daʿ-ara* "heavy" [Ehret] | Dahalo *deʿ-em*- "to be fat" [Ehret] = *deʿ-em*- „to be fat" [Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse] (SCu. data: Ehret 1980, 165, #22).

<sup>45</sup> Identical with Sem. \**ṭbḥ*: Akkadian *ṭebû* "untertauchen" [AHW] || Hebrew *ṭbḥ* "hinein-, versinken, eindringen (ein Stein in die Stirn)" [GB] | Arabic *ṭbḥ* I "1. faire une empreinte sur qqch., marquer qqch. en y imprimant un cachet, etc." [BK]. For the Egypto-Semitic match cf. Albright 1918, 95; 1918, 253, #124; Ember 1926, 308, #5; ESS §15.c.4; Vergote 1945, 144, §21.b.14.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Sem. \**ṭr* > Old Hebrew *tʿy qal* „umherirren, taumeln, abirren", nifal „herumirren, taumeln, getäuscht sein, irren", *tōʿā* „Irrsal, Verwirrung" [GB], Neo-Hebrew *tʿtʿ piel inf.*: *lā-taʿtēʿa* "to deceive, cheat" [Solomonick-Morrison] | Arabic *ṭtʿtʿ* I "2. bégayer, 2. agiter, faire aller ça et là", *taʿtaʿ*- "1. difficulté de prononciation (surtout dans les lettres f et t), 2. trouble, confusion" [BK]. Suggested by Sh. Yeivin (1933, 111).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. SCu.: Asa *daʿ-* "to hide" [Ehret 1980, 163], which may possible derive from SCu. \**daʿ*- [GT].

When Allen (p. 36) speaks of "*the occasional (sic) association of  $\underline{d}$  with Semitic \*g/q*", he provides one example for each, i.e. Eg.  $\underline{d}3\underline{d}3$  "head" = Sem. \* $\sqrt{g}lgl$  and Eg.  $\underline{d}nd$  = Sem. \* $\sqrt{k}nt$  "to be angry", resp., here too giving the false impression that both correspondences were equal. In fact, however, the shift of Eg.  $\underline{d} < AA$  \*g is most frequent (29 instances in EDE I 249-255), while there are only 4 good cases (beside 7 unacceptable ones) for Eg.  $\underline{d} < AA$  \*k in EDE I 319-322. The latter shift seems to be due to a secondary palatalization of the sporadic interchange of Eg. g ~ k. The same is the case with Allen's claim that "*Egyptian  $\underline{d}$  is also cognate with Semitic \*š and \*c*", for which he quotes only Eg.  $\underline{d}b^c$  = Sem. \* $\sqrt{š}b^c$  "finger" and Eg.  $\underline{nd}m$  = Sem. \* $\sqrt{n}^cm$  "pleasant". In fact, the correspondence of Eg.  $\underline{d}$  to the glottalized sibilant affricates (AA \*č, \*č̣, \*č̣̣) is regular (24 exx. in EDE I 256-261), whereas the relation of Eg.  $\underline{d}$  vs. Sem. c is sporadic (8 exx. in EDE I 261-262),<sup>48</sup> although the reasons for this remain to be clarified.

The chapter concludes with a sketch outlining the Semitic reflexes of Egyptian consonants, which, in Allen's interpretation, ended up as a chaotic mess of the most diverse consonantal comparisons (e.g. Eg. c = Sem. \*c, \*γ, \*d, \*ḏ, \*l or Eg. ), whose alarming controversies were left simply unresolved.

The next chapter is „Egyptian phonology” (§5, pp. 37-56), where the author tries to sum up the scanty inner and external evidence collected (although hardly analysed) in the preceding parts. Allen addresses a number of exciting issues here, most importantly how to conceive the nature of Eg. 3 ~ n ~ r. The problem, however, is that his speculations are derived from poorly demonstrated „analyses” in the first chapters.

The author's bold declaration (p. 38) that "*phonemic /y/ seems to be a secondary feature, deriving primarily from an original w ... This phoneme normally has no Coptic descendant*" can by no means be approved in this exclusive form. What about the mass of Egyptian roots having j < AA \*y? E.g. Eg. =j (1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. suffix pronoun),<sup>49</sup> jj "to come" (FD),<sup>50</sup> \*jw "Vieh" (Wb) = "newly dropped foal" (EG<sup>1</sup>),<sup>51</sup> jw "Art Hund" (Wb) = "dog" (FD) and jwjw "Art Hund" (Wb) = „dog” (FD),<sup>52</sup> jb.w "refuge, shelter" (FD) = "Zufluchtstätte" (Wb),<sup>53</sup> jmn adj. "right(-hand)", noun "right side, the West" (FD),<sup>54</sup> nj3.w "Steinbock" (Wb) = "ibex" (FD),<sup>55</sup> nk "den Beischlaf vollziehen" (Wb), act. \* $\sqrt{n}jk$ , cf. Dem. (Anksheshonqi 13:12, 19:1) njk „fornicator” (CED) → (S)  $\text{NOEIK}$  „adulterer” (CED),<sup>56</sup> hj "husband" (Wb), act. \* $\sqrt{h}j$  → (SB)  $\text{ZAI}$  „husband” (CED),<sup>57</sup> hj "(to be) high" and hj „height” (DLE),<sup>58</sup> sjn "Ton" (Wb)?<sup>59</sup> Has the author considered this evidence?

<sup>48</sup> 3 exx. are beyond any doubt:  $\underline{nd}m$ ,  $\underline{nds}$ ,  $\underline{s}dm$ , 3 exx. are probable:  $\underline{psd}$ ,  $\underline{db}3$ ,  $\underline{dns}$ , and 2 exx. are weak:  $\underline{dgm}$ ,  $\underline{ddb}$ .

<sup>49</sup> Identical with Sem. \*-ya ~ \*-ī „my” [Moscati et al.] ||| PBrb. \*-ī ~ \*-y „1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. suffix pron.” [Prasse] ||| Agaw \* $\sqrt{y}$  „me, my (obl. case)” [Appleyard] ||| ECu. \*ya, \*yi, \*yu „me, my (obl. case)” [Appleyard], cf. PSam \*-ay „my” [Heine] ||| HECu. \*ē „me”: 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. acc. pron. [Hudson] ||| SCu.: Pīraqw \*-ʔayī „my” | Dahalo ʔi „my” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 289) ||| NOM.: Pometo \*-ay- verbal affix „I” [Zaborski].

<sup>50</sup> Cognate with NBrb.: Qabyle e-yya imper. "come!" [Dallet] ||| SBrb.: Tamasheq a-yu "kommen" [Zyhlarz] ||| Bed. yi? ~ i? ~ ī "anlangen, kommen" [Reinisch] ||| NOm. \*y- "to come" [GT] (Om. data: Cerulli 1938 III, 208; Fleming 1976, 318; Bender 1988, 149) ||| Ch. \*ya "to come" [Newman]. Cf. Behnk 1928, 138; Zyhlarz 1932-1933, 165; Brockelmann 1932, 101, #8; Vycichl 1934, 78; 1960, 263; Cohen 1947, #25; D'jakonov 1965, 45; Dolgopolskij 1970, 622, #33.a; Illič-Svityč 1971, #130; Fleming 1974, 88; Müller 1975, 69, #73; Zaborski 1989, 579; Bender 1990, 29, #3.1.1; Orel & Stolbova 1992, 175; 1992, 194; Belova 1991, 89; 1993, 54.

<sup>51</sup> Cognate with Bed. yuwe ~ yiwe (f) "Ferse, Kalbin vom Stiere noch nicht besprungen" [Reinisch].

<sup>52</sup> Akin to ECu. \*yeyy-/yoyy- "wild/hunting dog, jackal" [Sasse] → HECu. \*yayye "wolf, jackal" [Hudson]. Cf. EDE I 79.

<sup>53</sup> Cognate with SCu. \*yab- "to protect" [GT]: Iraqw yaw- "to enclose, fence", Alagwa yaba "fence" | Dahalo žab- [\*y-] "to save" (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 315). Cf. also PBantu \*-yúb- "shelter (from rain or sun)" [Guthrie]. Cf. EDE I 79.

<sup>54</sup> Identical with Sem. \*yamīn- "southern" [Fronzaroli] ||| WCh.: Hausa yammáa < \*yamn-? "1. westwards, 2. afternoon up to evening" [Abraham]. See Erman 1892, 107; Hommel 1894, 345; Holma 1911, X; GÄSW #8; Vergote 1945, 131, §2.a.2; Cohen 1947, #495; Ol'derogge 1952, 34; Vycichl 1958, 376; Pilszczikowa 1960, 123, #126; D'jakonov 1965, 47; 1967, 187; Hodge 1977, 933; 1981, 404; Mukarovskij 1994, 146; Skinner 1995, 34.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Akkadian nayyalu "Reh" [AHW] ||| Tigre root ṇyl > nāl-āt "she-antelope" [Leslau]. For the Egypto-Semitic etymology see Ember 1912, 87; ESS §11.a.18; GÄSW #54; Vergote 1945, 131, §2.a.4; Vycichl 1958, 376; 1990, 56.

<sup>56</sup> Sem. \* $\sqrt{n}yk$  > Akkadian ṇnk: niāku "beischlafen", nīku "begattet" [AHW] ||| Arabic ṇyk I "cohabiter avec une femme" [BK] ||| Modern South Arabian ṇyk "to have sexual intercourse with, sleep with (a woman)" [Johnstone] ||| SBrb. \* $\sqrt{n}ky$  "coire, faire les mouvements de l'acte sexuel" [GT pace Foucauld] ||| WCh.: Bokkos nyōk "to copulate with (koitieren), beget" [Jungraithmayr]. See Müller 1909, 200, fn. 1; Ember 1916, 73; Trombetti 1923, 138, #248; Zyhlarz 1932-1933, 95; 1934, 119; GÄSW #62; Cohen 1947, #464; Vycichl 1958, 376; 1959, 39; D'jakonov 1965, 44; 1967, 188; Rabin 1982, 25; Sasse 1982, 153; Militarev 1986, 71, #3.3; Behrens 1987, 240, #3; Blazek 1989, 216; Belova 1993, 42, #195.

<sup>57</sup> Cognate with Bed. híyo "husband, wife" [Reinisch] as suggested by L. Reinisch (1895, 133), A. Ember (1917, 21), M. Cohen (1947, #92), V. M. Illič-Svityč (1971, 241, #100), V. Orel & O. Stolbova (1992, 169; HSED #1174).

<sup>58</sup> Identical with NAgaw \*qäy- "big" [Appleyard].

<sup>59</sup> Akin to Jewish Aramaic sēyān and Syriac sēyānā "Lehm, Kot" [Levy] ||| ECh.: Somray siña „Lehm” [Lukas] = sinyā „earth” [Jungraithmayr]. Cf. Ember 1912, 90; ESS §11.a.49; Cohen 1947, #297; Vycichl 1958, 376; 1990, 62; Castellino 1984, 17; Orel & Stolbova 1992, 187; HSED #2249.



How the author conceived the nature and origin of Eg. n (p. 39) is equally shocking: "Phonetically, the evidence for n indicates that it was primarily the nasal \*[n].<sup>60</sup> Its relationship to /l/ in cognates, correspondents, and Common Coptic must therefore be allophonic, perhaps dialectal: this, ns 'tongue' may represent \*nis as well as \*lis ... The alternative survival of n in the other dialectal form, but also the ultimate influence of semantic oppositions: thus, ns 'tongue' >  $\lambda\epsilon\zeta/\lambda\alpha\zeta$  vs. n.s 'for it' >  $\nu\epsilon\zeta/\nu\alpha\zeta$ ." Does Allen seriously think the word for „tongue” to have ever had [n] instead of [l] in it? Where is this piece of evidence, when everything indicates the opposite, i.e. \*[l-]? This kind of „method” of working without data resembles the way Allen arbitrarily vocalized LEg.  $\mathfrak{h}(3)\mathfrak{b}(3)\mathfrak{r}$  "partner" as \* $\mathfrak{h}\bar{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{a}$  (p. 33, cf. above). The presence of [l] in this pharaonic word is definitely to be assumed in the light of both the Afro-Asiatic (AA \*lis-) and Coptic (pre-Cpt. \*līs) evidence.

Since morphology and syntax lie beyond the scope of my primary interests and research field, I refrain from passing any judgement on Allen's chapters on these areas of Egyptian historical grammar. My only general impression is that perhaps the author should have stuck merely to these domains, where he may have a more intimate and comfortable background knowledge. It is not the first occasion that I have to see a great authority of Egyptology erring in the rather uncertain domain of Egyptian comparative-historical phonology.<sup>60</sup>

All in all, the phonological part of the book under review, whose presentation is, unfortunately, not always easily transparent, evokes in me little trust as a new and original synthesis or even as an overview of the state-of-the-art in our field. It should have been omitted from the present book and Allen should have focused on those domains he is indeed intimately familiar with and where he is apparently able to carry out thorough and original research (e.g. verbal system, syntax).

Imperfect understanding of Egyptian *Lautgeschichte* and the many of the underlying comparative data, the poor knowledge of the *Fachliteratur*, ignorance of the relevant data, problems and arguments instead of addressing and surveying them – all this makes the author's phonology for me unreliable. Some elementary blunders indicate that the author's preparations were not sufficient in comparative Egypto-Semitic studies. What we have here is not at all a comprehensive survey based on careful analyses of *all* relevant data and suggestions either in terms of quantity or quality. The new book's phonology can thus hardly be used as an up-to-date summary for academic purposes.

#### Abbreviations

(A): Ahmimic Coptic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, (B): Bohairic Coptic, Bed.: Bedawye (Beja), Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, Dyn.: Dynasty, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, (F): Fayyumic Coptic, H: Highland, L: Lowland, (L): Lycopolitan Coptic, (M): Mesokemic Coptic, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: North(ern), NK: New Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OK: Old Kingdom, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic Coptic, Sem.: Semitic, W: West(ern).

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<sup>60</sup> First of all, the proposals by J. Osing (NBÄ) in the swampy area of root etymologies (*Wurzeletymologien*) frequently turn out to be merely mechanically forged pseudo-etymologies as I had pointed out in several special papers (Takács 2005, 14ff.; 2005, 623ff.; 2015a and 2015b). J. F. Quack's output in Egyptian etymology was even more disappointing (cf. Takács 2003). Eventually, the same is the case with O. Röbner, whom one may admire for his genuine insights into Berber and Semito-Hamitic verbal morphology, whereas his both methods and results in Egypto-Semitic comparative phonology (esp. in his paper from 1971), which had already evoked severe criticism by W. Ward (1985), and also by W. Vycichl (1985), are most problematic (cf. Takács 2011, 34-82).

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